1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Frontera became a center for the sale of cheap but powerful liquor.[27] Unscrupulous tradesmen, as has already been mentioned, regularly encourage the Indians to drink when a transaction is being made, and alcoholism is currently a major problem.[28]

At meals women used to serve adult men first and children after their elders, but it has become the practice for family groups to eat together. Home made wooden bowls, platters, ladles, and spoons were formerly widely employed,[29] but store-bought enamel cups, metal pots and tea kettles, inexpensive "china," and tin spoons are now coming into use.

The only universal food tabus apply to snakes and frogs. In addition, young people are forbidden to eat sheep testicles, lest girls develop pains in the breasts and boys suffer from aching testes. Growing children are not allowed to eat bone marrow, because it is regarded as a "watery" substance that will retard their development. Furthermore, to ensure that they will not engage in premature sexual activity, adolescent girls may not eat unripe fruit, and grown women must abstain from fish lest, like them, they refuse to settle into permanent homes.[30]

Tobacco smoking, particularly in pipes, is reported to have been widespread among elderly people, especially men.[31] The absence of native tobacco, and the expense of standard brands have combined to eliminate this custom on most reservations. Such smoking as I personally observed was done by young men who occasionally accepted the offer of a cigarette.

[27] Natives most often drink a cheap wine nowadays, fortified by the addition of strong roots, herbs, or nut shells. One big drink often intoxicates them, sometimes to the point of stupefaction. Some manage to ride home, but others fall by the roadside to sleep off the effects.

[28] Latcham (1909, p. 335) expressed himself strongly on this point.

[29] For the manufacture of a wide variety of wooden utensils, see Joseph, 1931a, pp. 53–85.

[30] The details of food tabus were obtained only from a single informant, J. M. Collío. These data need to be checked before they can be regarded as widespread Araucanian beliefs. Some comparative material is given in Guevara, 1929, II: 163–66.

[31] Guevara, 1911, pp. 253–82. Stone pipes occur abundantly in archaeological deposits.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in Housse (1939, p. 249).

868 **Education.**—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright
866 stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily
[262 from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly
304] grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263–64; Gusinde, 1916–17, pp. 205–13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1055–56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children
[276] (Housse, 1939, pp. 267–78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, infra, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 **Death and burial.**—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death
762 from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

764 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

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which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), púthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chilensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

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Chile

867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 685 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 273 276 828 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

881 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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again called, "See, there is a flood coming!" The people wondered what should be done—they noticed the river was rising—at least so they thought. The man suggested that they make a ŋillatun. So they began to make preparations to hold one. This man then was the leader in the ŋillatun. He was well treated; he ate and drank to satiety. When the ŋillatun was over, he hurried to the river, moved the sapling back toward the shore, and told the people to take notice how the water had subsided. This is a true story; my father told it to me as a true story. 539

Smoking is a recreational habit today for both men and women—never for children, not even in early adolescence. According to a 100-year-old Coñaripe man, it has always been indulged in by adults, at least as far back as he could remember. According to Cooper's sources it is something rather recent (1946, p. 741). Pipes were smoked in the early days. They were made of stone, clay, and wood (Cooper, 1946, p. 741). An informant showed the bowl of a pipe of stone that had been plowed up in the Cordillera. The Museo Araucano de Temuco exhibits leaves of maqui and leaves and stems of papa silvestre (wild potato) as a mixture that was smoked. 517 276

During the present study mature men smoked decidedly more often than did women and young men. Chilean cigarettes were smoked by those who could afford to buy them, often after drinking yerba maté. Informants generally made their own by rolling into paper of any kind crushed leaves of maqui and/or finely shaved stalk of maqui mixed with crushed leaves of tiaca or of filuponü (unidentified; probably wild potatoes). In Boroa area cultivated tobacco was finely cut and mixed with maqui. An old Coñaripe informant thought it unwise to smoke when one's body is heated either from work or from the sun—at 3 o'clock one afternoon he would not smoke the cigarettes offered him. [272]

MUSIC, DANCES, SONGS

Traditional Araucanian musical instruments in use today are the pifəlka (whistle) (pl. 32, 2-4, 6), the trutruka (wind instrument) (pl. 32, 1), the kultruŋ (drum) (pl. 30, 1), the wada (rattle), and the kuikuil and the kuŋkul (bugles) (pl. 12, 1). None of these was being used for recreational purposes, unless it was the pifəlka, which an occasional umpire used during a football game, probably because no other whistle was available. The pifəlka, trutruka, and kultruŋ are used at the ŋillatun; the kultruŋ and the wada, at the machitun. Cooper's sources (1946, p. 738) give, in addition to the above instruments, a basketry rattle, a flute made of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (pl. 32, 5, 7, 8), and a musical bow. None of these was seen during the present study. 534

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521 539 open near there. A machi went into the opening and cut down something. While she was doing so, a big snake turned up. She caught the snake and killed it. Doing this made a noise like a powerful explosion [he imitated steam being blown off]. Soon the lake disappeared; all that is left of it today is the river between Lake Lacar and Lake Pirehuico. Just about that same time, the volcanoes fought each other—those that are about 40 kilometers from here. Yes, they actually fought each other. One had his head cut off. In the area where his head fell, all rivers changed their courses—those are the rivers that come off the mountains. Since then these rivers flow through Chile and no longer through our country. One volcano has no head today; you can see it in Chile; it is Shoshuenco. In the fight, stones piled up on one side of Shoshuenco so that today Shoshuenco looks as though he had a hat hanging down his side.

517 ● 276 Smoking was done as a pastime by most men older than 30 years and by an occasional man after his twentieth year. Formerly if a man younger than 20 smoked, he made certain that he was not in his father's presence; "today, a boy of 15 will smoke sitting close to his father." Women seldom smoked before they were 60 years of age. Children did not smoke. "It would have been difficult for children to do so, for they were always where adults were; in any event, they had no material to smoke." Older men smoked ceremonially at the nillatun; women never did.

In the early days, a mixture of finely cut stalk of maqui and dead wood of rauli, or a mixture of crushed leaves of both, was smoked. Tobacco was introduced with government rations. Kolupan, finding tobacco too strong to smoke, mixed it with maqui, cutting both up fine. One woman mixed her ration of tobacco with dry dead wood of rauli to make it last longer. It appears that in the very early days a substance in the form of plugs and sticks was brought in trade from west of the Andes, cut fine, and smoked. Old informants had been told about this by older people. The substance was smoked only at bedtime since it had a narcotic effect. Any substance smoked was called potrem; the word kinnickinnick was not known to informants; Kolupan found it an amusing word. All smokers inhaled the smoke.

Pipes were made by women, generally of the same clay used in pottery making (cf. pp. 380-381); very old men were seen smoking pipes of stone. A pipe consisted of a bowl and short stem of the same material, and a hollowed-out colihue stalk inserted into the end of the stem. The mouth end was somewhat flattened. Pipes varied in size and structure (pl. 76, 3). Those of caciques and old men were often ornamented with silver. Since women made the pipes, they sometimes decorated their own with silver, also. Today Argentine-made cigarettes are smoked—one of them is passed from person to person in a group, everyone but children taking a puff.

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796 535 (stamping on the ground), and the huillafən kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultruŋ. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultruŋ.

796 [276] Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifəlka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

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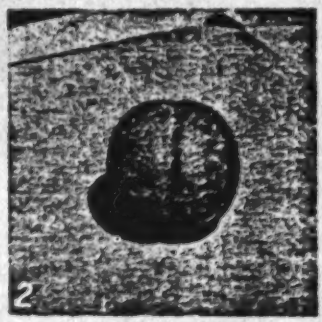

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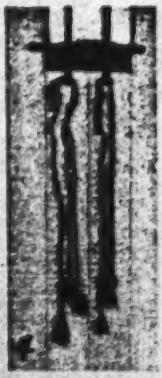

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

[p. 364 (D)]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

[756] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater [593] than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most [554] common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fevers and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi*'s drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The [787] most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an [276] ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitun*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñe-kurewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling